

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 JAKART 02845 031011Z  
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06  
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/AMCONSUL SURABAYA 9715  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 2845

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, ID  
SUBJECT: THE GHOST OF BUNG KARNO WALKS AGAIN

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR AND DEPUTY CHIEF OF BAKIN (INTELLIGENCE COORDINATING AGENCY) LT. GEN. ALI MURTOPO HAS BEEN ACTIVE THIS WEEK SUMMONING UP THE POLITICAL GHOST OF BUNG KARNO. HE MADE A PILGRIMAGE TO SUKARNO'S SIMPLE GRAVE IN BLITAR IN COMPANY WITH PDI (INDONESIAN DEMOCRACY PARTY) LEADERS FEBRUARY 25, AND PROMISED THAT A MORE FITTING MONUMENT WOULD SOON BE ERECTED TO THE FIRST PRESIDENT. TWO DAYS LATER HE TOLD 1966 GENERATION YOUTH LEADERS MEETING IN JAKARTA THAT PRESIDENT SUHARTO'S PLAN TO RESTORE SUKARNO'S GRAVE WAS IN RECOGNITION OF HIS ROLE AS THE CREATOR OF THE PANCASILA PHILOSOPHY. MPS FROM GOLKAR AND THE PDI HAVE COMMENTED PRIVATELY THAT MURTOPO IS USING THIS GAMBIT TO ENLIST PDI SUPPORT FOR GOLKAR'S STRUGGLE WITH THE MUSLIM PPP (DEVELOPMENT UNITY PARTY) IN THE MPR GENERAL SESSION WHICH OPENS MARCH 11.  
END SUMMARY.

2. DURING THE LAST WEEK, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR LT. GEN. ALI  
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PAGE 02 JAKART 02845 031011Z

MURTOPO HAS BEEN BUSILY CONJURING UP THE GHOST OF FORMER PRESIDENT SUKARNO AS A POLITICAL IMAGE TO REINFORCE GOLKAR'S EFFORTS IN THE MPR. MURTOPO HAD TOLD PDI LEADERS IN CENTRAL JAVA IN JANUARY THAT PRESIDENT SUHARTO HAD DECIDED TO REFURBISH SUKARNO'S GRAVE. THE FAMILY OBJECTED, NOTING BUNG KARNO'S WISH TO BE BURIED IN BOGOR, WEST JAVA, BUT LATER RELENTED, "IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE PEOPLE'S WILL" THE FORMER PRESIDENT'S

SISTER SAID. ON FEBRUARY 24, MURTOPO SPOKE TO EAST JAVA AND NATIONAL PDI LEADERS IN BLITAR, INCLUDING MINISTER OF PEOPLE'S WELFARE SUNAWAR SUKOWATI, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE DPR/MPR MOHAMMAD ISNAENI, PDI PARLIAMENTARY LEADER HARDJANTO, AND EAST JAVA CHAIRMAN MARSUSI. HE TOLD THEM THAT IF THERE HAD BEEN NO SUKARNO, INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN IDFFERENT TODAY, AND ADDED THAT "THOSE WHO SEEK TO DAMAGE PANCASILA AND REPLACE THE 1945 CONSTITUTION WILL BE CRUSHED". (THESE CATHWORDS ARE A THINLY VEILED DIG AT THE PPP AND TYPICAL OF MURTOPO'S RECENT SERIES OF HARSH WARNINGS TO MUSLIM DISSIDENTS.)

3. THE NEXT DAY MURTOPO PAID A HIGHLY PUBLICIZED VISIT TO THE BLITAR GRAVESITE. ALTHOUGH THE RESTORATION OF BUNG KARNOS GRAVE WOULD BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WISHES OF THE DECEASED - NO ELABORATE HEADSTONE - HE SAID, THE GRAVE WOULD INCORPORATE A LARGE PEICE OF FINE STONE TO MAKE AN IMPRESSION ON ALL THOSE WHO CAME TO VISIT. THUS IT COULD BE SEEN, SAID ALI, HOW THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE HONORED SUKARNO.

4. MURTOPO NEXT APPEARED AT THE FEBRUARY 27 GENERAL MEETING OF THE 1966 GENERATION/INDONESIAN YOUTH IN JAKARTA, SPONSORED BY THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE (KNPI) TO COMMEMORATE THE DEATHS OF STUDENTS WHO FELL IN THE 1966 STRUGGLE AND TO SUPPORT A "SUCCESSFUL GENERAL SESSION OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 JAKART 02845 031011Z

THE MPR". ALSO PRESENT WERE KNPI CHAIRMAN DAVID NAPITUPLU AND GOLKAR STALWART AND FORMER YOUTH LEADER COSMAS BATUBARA. ALL SPEAKERS URGED THE RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT SUHARTO AND VICE PRESIDENT SULTAN HAMENGKUBUWONO IX. MURTOPO, SPEAKING LAST AFTER MANY HAD REPORTEDLY GONE HOME, MENTIONED THAT THE BUILDING IN WHICH HE SPOKE HAD BEEN BUILT BY SUKARNO'S ADMINISTRATION. HE REFERRED TO SUKARNO AS THE "PROCLAMATOR OF INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE" AND THE "CONCEPTOR OF PANCASILA", NOTING THAT HE SET THE TONE OF THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE. HE URGED HIS AUDIENCE TO APPRECIATE THIS STRUGGLE, AND SEE TO IT THAT THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST ARE NOT REPEATED. THE PANCASILA PHILOSOPHY CREATED BY SUKARNO CANNOT BE CHANGED, SAID MURTOPO, AND WE NEED A GUIDE FOR IMPLEMENTING IT THAT CAN BE FIRMLY APPLIED. HE WAS APPLAUDED WHEN HE REPEATED THE STATEMENT THAT PRESIDENT SUHARTO HAD DECIDED TO RESTORE SUKARNO'S GRAVE. WHEN THE MPR SESSION IS OVER, MURTOPO TOLD HIS LISTENERS, THE LOSERS MUST REALIZE THAT THEY ARE LOSERS AND NOT TRY TO CREATE CHAOS, BUT THE WINNERS MUST NOT ATTEMPT TO HAVE THEIR OWN WAY IN EVERYTHING.

5. COMMENT: MURTOPO'S TRIBUTES TO SUKARNO AND THE RESULTING

PRESS COVERAGE FEATURING PHOTOS AT THE GRAVESITE CONSTITUTE A SHARP BREAK WITH PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT POLICY OF VIRTUALLY IGNORING THE FIRST PRESIDENT AND DISCOURAGING VISITS TO HIS GRAVE. DPR/MPR MEMBERS COSMAS BATUBARA AND SABAM SIRAIT (PDI SECRETARY GENERAL) TOLD EMBOFF MARCH 1 THAT ALTHOUGH MURTOPO'S COMMENTS ON SUKARNO HAD A SECONDARY PURPOSE OF RESTORING SOMEWHAT THE RIGHTFUL HISTORICAL POSITION OF INDONESIA'S FIRST PRESIDENT, HIS PREIMARY OBJECTIVE AT THE MOMENT IS TO ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF PDI MEMBERS (PARTICULARLY EX-PNI) FOR GOLKAR'S STRUGGLE WITH THE PPP IN THE MPR GENERAL SESSION. THEY BELIEVED THAT ISNAENI WOULD PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN BRINGING PDI MEMBERS AROUND TO THE GOLKAR POSITIONS. WHILE MURTOPO MAY ACHIEVE SOME SUCCESS IN WINNING OVER THE PDI BY THE GAMBIT, PPP OPPOSITION TO ENDORSEMENT  
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 JAKART 02845 031011Z

OF MYSTICAL BELIEF AND THE KNPI, AS WELL AS NOMINATION OF THE PRESIDENT BY PARTY BLOC RATHER THAN BY 30 MPR MEMBERS, IS EXPECTED TO HOLD FAST. OTHER MPS HAVE REPORTED THAT A MEETING BETWEEN THE MPR LEADERSHIP AND PPP AND PDI LEADERS MARCH 1 FAILED TO RESOLVE ANY OF THESE CONFLICTS BY CONSENSUS, AND THAT FORMAL VITING ON THESE ISSUES IS NOW CONSIDERED LIKELY.  
MASTERS

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